CHAPTER SIX
MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN MARKETPLACES – SITES OF CONTACTS, TRADE AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

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Medieval marketplaces are often located on river estuaries or other sites that were easily approachable places both for local peasants and foreign traders. The Roman Catholic churches or chapels were commonly built on or near the marketplaces during the medieval period; therefore, we may assume that religious activities had important connections to trade. One important element of contemporary everyday life was related to the religious aspects of the marketplaces. The markets along the coast of the Bothnian Gulf were probably the best-known marketplaces in medieval northern Fennoscandia, but the coastal area of the Gulf of Finland in the south also had important medieval marketplaces. Trade was naturally the main activity in the marketplaces, but several other activities were taking place in these sites, like commodity production, administrative activities, and religious practices. In this paper our aim is to discuss this two-fold role of marketplaces encompassing both trade and religion in medieval and early modern Northern and Southern Fennoscandian contexts.

Introduction

English traveller Edward D. Clarke visited the marketplace of Kemi in 1799. He painted a lively picture of the fairs of Kemi:

"We were fortunate enough to arrive in the very heyday of the *fair*, which lasts during ten days, and brings hither all the principal merchants from *Uleå* and *Torneå*. This being the *Sabbath*, was considered as one of the days upon which the most business is done. The *fair* is held upon an island, where several log-houses, […], are stationed as ware-houses, ranged in the form of streets, for exposing the goods belonging to the traders; […]. They sell linen and woolen cloths, reindeer harness, handkerchiefs, hardware, caps, and trinkets. The *Lapps* and *Finns* come to this fair from

the most distant provinces; […] The church service had just ended, as we landed. A vast throng of peasants were filling all the boats, to go over to the island. Seeing this, we stepped into one of the boats, and were speedily conducted into the midst of the jovial multitude. Of what nature the church service had been, […]: by much the greater part of the men were very drunk, shouting, singing, and romping with their favourite lasses. Great allowance may be made for the joyous season of this annual festival; […] We were told, that, upon the ensuing *Sabbath*, the *Priest* intended to give a ball, at his own house, to all this friends in the fair: so much does custom decry or authorize the same thing in different countries. What would be thought, in *England*, of a ball given by a *Clergyman* at his *parsonage*-house, upon the *Sabbath-day*? […] We had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with this *Clergyman*, and found him to be in all respects a worthy member of the *pastoral* office; […] Of all men, he was one of the least disposed, either to neglect this clerical duty, or to the guilty of any violation of the sanctity of the *Sabbath*. It was, in fact, an annual custom, long established in the place, that the Clergyman of *Kiemi* should thus receive and treat his friends; and he had conformed to it, as his predecessors had done before".[1]

Clarke's description of Kemi markets pictures a joyful fair with drunken people as well as the religious aspect of the place. The marketplace was located next to the church and the parsonage. Clarke illustrates a scene in which the parson had his own role in the market event, which was based on local traditions. Thus, the church, the parson and the marketplace together form one space whose behaviours departed from normal everyday practices.

Our aim is to discuss what kind of role religion and the church had in the medieval and early modern marketplaces in both Northern and Southern Finland. We consider this relationship through the social memory and beliefs that are related with certain places and spaces. Social memory is one essential form of social interactions between humans and groups.[2] Social memory has been transmitted by individuals and groups in oral histories, but also through rituals and material culture. We will explore memory practices through the material remains of beliefs, mainly reflected in graves and churches, and the marketplaces as spaces. These all "can be regarded as an important medium for memory work – technologies of remembrance. These material memories […] afforded means by which […] individuals, groups and kingdoms defined their sense of identity in relation to land,

[1] Clarke 1838, 470–473.
[2] E.g. Connerton 1989; Mills and Walker 2008, 6–7.

resources and history".[3] However, the moveable material culture, artefacts and materials had a role of passing meanings of memories and identities.[4]

We use the concept of borderland to interpret how the medieval churches and marketplaces were connected with each other and larger, regional early-medieval political landscapes. In this framing the borderland is understood as a contested region or space between political empires or states or religious powers.[5] Thus, the borderland concept has allowed archaeologists to examine marginal regions as places-in-between distinguished by hybridization of material culture and ethnic creolization.[6] Political control over space and place-making has been regarded as a key factor in transforming and building physical structures in landscapes.[7] We will highlight the political and cultural processes in present-day Finland that can be traced through archaeology.

Political Development of Early Political Landscape in the Eastern Fennoscandia

Present-day eastern parts of Fennoscandia, Finland, and the Baltic countries formed the final non-Christian region in Europe in beginning of the second millennia. Both of the Christian Churches (the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox Church) saw the population in these areas as a possibility to expand their influence. In the same period the kingdom of Sweden and the city-state of Novgorod also became interested in the natural resources and trade of northern areas of present day Fennoscandia. The Hanseatic League integrated the Baltic trade more and more into its traders' hands from the south during the same period of time. Thus, all these factors influenced how the area of present-day Finland was integrated into the European religious and economic networks. The northern natural resources as well as the right to tax the local population and indigenous Sámi people formed the objects of the struggle in the medieval period.[8] The region of

[3] Williams 2011, 13.
[4] Williams 2011, 13.
[5] E.g. Adelman and Aron 1999; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Naum 2010; Rubinson and Smith 2003; Tuovinen 2011; Ylimaunu *et al*. 2014.
[6] Bhabha 1994; Cusick 2000; Naum 2010; Van Dommelen 2005.
[7] Smith 2003, 71, 77.
[8] E.g. Gaimster 2005; Lappalainen 2009; Lundholm 1991b, 330–335; Vahtola 2004, 36; Wallerström 1995 I, 12–38, 210, 253–255.

Finland became a borderland area that was contested by the contemporary religious and political powers.[9]

Medieval Sweden was a loosely knit collection of regions that were ruled by local houses that had personal relationships to the ruling king. These local houses elected among themselves ruling kings into the office. Sweden became a part of the Kalmar Union at the end of fourteenth century and the ruling court was based on contemporary Denmark.[10] Finland and northern Fennoscandia subsequently had even more loose relationships with the ruling king. The areas of southern Finland were integrated into the contemporary political landscape by gradually building castles in southern Finland in Turku, Hämeenlinna, Viipuri, Raseborg and Savonlinna after the early thirteenth century (Fig. 6-1). However, Sweden did not have any concrete political or military strength to integrate the northern regions under its power before the end of the fourteenth century. Sweden built up "castles" or fortifications in Korsholm, present-day Vaasa, and Oulu in respect of 1370 and 1375. However, Novgorod and later Moscow claimed the areas of Northern Finland for itself during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[11]

The river mouth fortification on the Oulu River was the first attempt to establish real political power by the Swedish crown in the northeast borderland. However, the Catholic Church remained the only genuine organized political power in the northern coastal areas of the Bothnian Gulf. The first Roman Catholic congregations were established in southwest Finland from the 12th century onwards. It took more than a century before the Roman Catholic Church started to establish congregations and build up churches in the northern coastal areas at the beginning of the fourteenth century in locations including Salo, Kemi, and Tornio (Fig. 6-2).[12] For instance, the archbishop of Uppsala baptised at Tornio local Sámi's and Karelians living in Kemi and Ii at 1346,[13] and a consequence of this was that the converted became subjects of taxation under the Roman Catholic congregations. The Karelians living in the northern parts of Fennoscandia were subjects to the Russian Orthodox Church and Novgorod. A consequence of all this was when pagans or orthodox were baptized to Roman Catholic faith they became the subjects of two different taxation, Roman Catholic, but also Swedish, and they remained subjects under Novgorod taxation. The double taxation was one reason why slowly locals

[9] See Adelman and Aron 1999; Naum 2010.
[10] Gustafsson 1998.
[11] E.g. Lappalainen 2009, 23; Luukko 1950, 152; Vahtola 2004, 35–48.
[12] Hiekkanen 2007b; Lappalainen 2009, 23; Vahtola 2004, 46–47.
[13] REA 1996 [1890].

refused to pay taxes to the east and gradually local northern battles erupted from Novgorod's violent tax collecting expeditions.[14]

Marketplaces and Roman Catholic Church

Besides spreading religious power into the northern areas the Catholic Church became more and more visible in the northern medieval marketplaces (e.g., Luleå, Tornio, Kemi, and Ii). Most of them were located on river mouths that offered good communication routes from the sea and by the main north-south and east-west rivers. From the 13th century these market harbours exported several thousand kilos of dried pike and salted salmon to central Europe via Stockholm. One reason for the demand for fish was the Roman Catholic practice of fasting for around half of the year.[15] Although furs have traditionally been seen as a main influence that established the markets on the river estuaries,[16] the importance of dried fish exports must also be taken into account in the context of trade with contemporary European markets. However, the Catholic Church may have rapidly recognized the economic importance of tax collections of goods such as salmon and furs from the local population.

The availability of fish and furs were the main elements that attracted the merchants of the Hanseatic League to introduce trading in the harbours of the northern rivers in the thirteenth century.[17] These markets grew slowly to accommodate other traders from Karelia, Central Sweden and Finland, as well as Sámi and local farmers who sold their surpluses from fishing, hunting, and farming, such as butter. The Swedish crown gradually took control over these markets by the late-fourteenth century, forbidding Hanseatic ships to sail into the Bothnian Gulf, ordering locals to build up warehouses on marketplaces, setting the official market periods, and collecting taxes at least since the early fifteenth century.[18] Northern markets were magnetic and traders from all over the Nordic region gathered in these harbours since the early medieval period.[19] Karelian merchants, for instance, travelled by small boats over a distance of several hundred kilometres through the northern rivers to buy and sell with Swedish and

[14] Gallén and Lind 1991; Wallerström 1995 I, 251–266; Vilkuna 1975, 49–52.
[15] Nyström 1983; Vahtola 2005; Wallerström 1983.
[16] Luukko 1950, 140–141; 1954, 196.
[17] Gaimster 2005; Vahtola 1997, 84–85; 2005.
[18] Luukko 1950, 141–142; 1954, 198–199; Vahtola 1997, 84; 2005.
[19] Olaus Magnus 2002 [1555].

Norwegian colleagues.[20] Hence, these markets developed to emerge as small, summer-time, pre-urban and multicultural centres, and they were connected with the contemporary European economic networks. This happened not only on the eastern coastal market places but also in Norrland on the western coast of the Gulf of Bothnia.[21] Market harbours with a heterogeneous ethnic, cultural, and religious population were liminal spaces also for the local population; they met, eat, traded, drank and adopted different cultural and religious influences from all compass points.

Local markets took place most often in the local church patron saint's name day. For instance, the patron saint of Kemi was Archangel Mikael and the market held in his name came at the end of September. In many cases these markets took place at the end of farming year; people had time to celebrate the harvest season, or other main events during the season. For example, maids and farmhands were hired for the next year at the Saint Mikael's day.[22] The Crown tried to concentrate the local trade into the market harbours several different times during the fifteenth century. For instance, local markets in Kyrö, Ostrobothnia, took place on Saint Laurentius' name day (Lauri's day in Finnish). Other Saint-day markets were held at Saint John's day at mid-summer and Margaret's name day at July.[23] For example, the vast hauls of salmon fishing in the Tornio, Kemi and Ii Rivers caused merchants from the southern part of Finland and Sweden to travel to the northern market harbours to buy salmon at mid-summer (i.e., around late June). The consequence of this was that markets started at mid-summer in places like Tornio and lasted mainly all July when the salmon was running upstream of the rivers (Fig. 6-3).[24]

Hundreds of kilometres southward from the northern markets, in southwest Finland people assembled at Turku fairs twice a year. These were called the St. Henry's fair, after the Finnish national saint, though the Cathedral of Turku and the bishopric of Turku were dedicated to him as well. The winter fair was annually on January 19, the day of "Winter-Henry," and the summer fair was on the 18th June or on "Summer-Henry." The third fair day with probably medieval traditions in Turku was on the 9th September or a day after the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary to whom

[20] Lundholm 1991a, 274, 292–298; Luukko 1954, 198; Vahtola 2005, 22.
[21] Grundström 2001.
[22] E.g. Heikkilä 2009, 50, 57–59; Knuutila 2009, 179; Luukko 1950, 142; 1954, 199, 279–280.
[23] Luukko 1950, 142.
[24] E.g. Hansen 1984, 57–58; Hedman 1969, 156–159; Lundholm 1991a, 296–298; Luukko 1954, 199–200; Vilkuna 1975, 31–32.

the Cathedral was dedicated, too.[25] In contrast to the north, the fairs southwestern Finnish countryside were far less important than those at the north. However, one may find similarities, such as religious aspects between the fairs held in north and south and comparable naming practices.

In the countryside of the southwest Finland the annual medieval fairs were held in at least 11 parishes. In most cases the marketplace was in or near the local parish church, as in Mynämäki and Vehmaa. In other cases, like in Paimio, Untamala in Laitila and Hietamäki in Mynämäki, the marketplaces were located in the vicinity of a small chapel. The period of the fairs always fit into the annual working periods of locals to enable the trade of their goods. Almost all the fairs in southwest Finland were held between late June or St John's Day and early October or St Bridget's Day.[26]

Besides the economic reasons, there was also a religious aspect in the annual market days. Most of the fairs were called after the patron saint of the local parish church.[27] For example the St Laurentius' fair was held on the 10 August in Perniö and Mynämäki and St Olof's fair on the 29 July in Lemu, Nauvo, Sauvo and Uusikirkko. In these cases only the fairs in Sauvo was not held on the day dedicated to the patron saint of the local church.[28]

A similar close relationship between the fair and the local church is visible also in Uusimaa. For example, in Pernaja the fair was held on 29 September, the day dedicated the Archangel Michael, one of the two patron saints of the parish church nearby the marketplace. From Snappertuna in Uusimaa some historical maps visualize the close connection of the marketplace and the chapel of St Bartholomew on the hill nearby (Fig. 6-4).[29]

Discussion and Comparison

Kemi and other community's fairs had a long history before Edward Clarke visited Kemi in 1799. As in many places fairs had taken shape during the early Medieval or even late-prehistoric period. As a result of the reformation of the Church during the 16th century Sweden became Lutheran. Soon the Lutheran orthodoxy began to remove the Catholic traditions. In many cases the religious aspect of the fairs, such as naming them by the patron saints, faded away. However, the local traditions and

[25] Heikkilä 2009, 50; Kuujo 1981, 134.
[26] Qvist 1909, 36–53.
[27] E.g. Heikkilä 2009, 50.
[28] Qvist 1909, 36–53.
[29] Antell 1956, 354, 358, 361–362; Qvist 1909, 56, 61; Rask 1991, 492–494.

rituals showed their strength and preserved some religious aspects of the fairs. Thus, Clarke's depiction is one example of how collective memory works.

Since late medieval times churches were buildings with a strong social memory, as were the church sites, and locals had been baptised, married and buried in them for centuries. They were places of the ancestors; inhabited by their memories. Although the interiors of churches were changed during the reformation,[30] the buildings remained the same as a space of common worship, baptisms and burials, all of which were rituals that created memories.[31] However, it has to be underlined that in Finland the change in the interiors of the churches was much slower than in most other countries.[32]

Likewise, the fairs were spaces with local social memory; people had gathered in these places generation after generation and learned a marketplace lifestyle, which included social activities like communal drinking.[33] The transactions in the fairs and in the market warehouses were based on rituals and protocols of oral tradition between traders and buyers and common memories. Transactions needed short moments for gossip and discussions. Indeed, this all "collectively created a *remembered village* and a *remembered economy*".[34]

In Kemi market place, for example, there were beer houses during the early modern and modern period. Alcoholic drinks were one of the most profitable commodities; they were sold and probably consumed in many market warehouses.[35] Several fragments of alcohol related artifacts were found in Kemi marketplace warehouses,[36] and from the marketplace on Muntolannokka in Perniö.[37] Matthew Johnson has suggested that alcohol and tobacco consumption "was an integral part of the life of the early modern community". He relates English alehouses not only to prostitution or drunkenness, but also to a "political dissent and radicalism".[38] The rituals of consuming alcohol created memories of the enhanced feeling of freedom, memories that can be compared almost with religious experiences.[39] Consequently, medieval market places were more than places of

[30] E.g. Johnson 2007, 154–155; Connerton 2009, 50; Tarlow 2003.
[31] C.f. Meskell 2004, 65–66.
[32] Hiekkanen 2007a.
[33] E.g. Meskell 2004, 65–66.
[34] Connerton 2009, 67–68; c.f. Paulaharju, 2010 [1923], 83–95.
[35] C.f. Deutsch 1971; Satokangas 1997.
[36] Cleve 1947.
[37] Von Bonsdorff 1997, 158–159.
[38] Johnson 1996, 184–186.
[39] Scott 1990, 120–123.

consumption and were instead places for ordinary people to be involved in religious and social rituals and escape the hard everyday life.

Medieval Catholic churches were usually located on or near markets, and churches were one part of the complex material culture of marketplaces (Fig. 6-5). The markets and the church formed contemporary built-up economic and religious centres at these river estuary islands. Building up the churches and establishing congregations in the north had twofold consequences: first, the Roman Church took over the areas and its' older, non-Christian sacred sites, and, second, it took over the space of commerce in the river estuaries.[40] The only archaeologically well-defined trading site with roots in the Viking Age in Finland Proper is located on Kyrksundet in Hitis in Kimito. There was a pagan sacrificial site, *a hiisi*, too. The medieval church took over the cult activities and a chapel was founded there.[41] On the western coast of the Gulf of Bothnia the close relationship between early trading sites and chapels or churches is characterized by some place names of the harbour sites such as Kyrkesviken and the St Olof's harbours, one in Selånger and the other one on Drakön.[42] The Hanseatic League had its' own role, most likely, beside the Catholic Church in the development of economic landscape in the coastal area in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was the first step in the process of creating political landscape by the churches buildings.[43] The Catholic Church institutionalized the early medieval landscape and related it into the common European mental space. Hence, the Catholic Church as an institution transformed the local memory of sites and old religious traditions into its' own religious meanings and at the same time took over the important local physical and mental spaces, as in cases of naming the fairs by Catholic saints.

The mid-summer markets, for instance in Tornio River, were dedicated to Saint John and the markets sprang up from the salmon fishing season and trade. It can be asked why these markets were dedicated to a saint. One reason for this might be that local salmon fishers worshiped so-called *isäntiä* at the salmon fishing sites still at the end of the eighteenth century. These were wooden columns that were chiselled into shape of a human or the column had a chiselled human head. The function of the *isäntä* was to ensure good salmon hauls.[44] By dedicating the mid-summer markets for Saint John, the Roman Catholic Church took over and appropriated the

[40] Korpela 2002, 2008; Krötzl 2005.
[41] Edgren 1999, 7–18.
[42] Grundström 2001.
[43] Ylimaunu *et al*. 2014; c.f. Smith 2003.
[44] Vilkuna 1975, 370–373.

ancient local traditions and memory of salmon fishing, converting them into new religious practises. Thus, it has been suggested that ancient Finnish forces continued living in the form of medieval saints. It seems that the contemporary Roman Catholic Church had room for ancient beliefs to persist after Finns had been baptized to Christianity; especially because the relics of the saints had animistic powers and were considered living powers,[45] it was not so difficult for the Catholic Church to integrate animistic beliefs into the church's religious practices. One reason for this could be that the local traditions and memory were so strong that the Catholic Church had to accept these beliefs. Whatever the reasons for such hybrid religious practises, from this point of a view the northern markets seem to have been hybrid spaces. For example, one reason for the communal drinking at the mid-summer markets could have been the historical tradition of heavy drinking after the first salmons have been caught.[46]

So far, there is no archaeological evidence of the Eastern Orthodox Churches or other sacred buildings from the marketplaces. However, there are several Karelian-origin artefacts and burials from different locations, like from the medieval Hietaniemi graveyard and marketplace beside Tornio River, the Valmarinniemi graveyard and church site and the Ii Hamina graveyard, church and marketplace.[47] Place name studies indicate strong Karelian influence and local population originally from Karelia. Several names of *Säässimä* in Ii and Kuusamo region, *Karjalankylä* in Ii indicate Karelian settlers lived in these areas. *Säässimä* means little sacral Eastern Orthodox building and the *Karjalankylä* means Village of Karelians.[48] These migrants were drawn north by the rich natural resources. Their migrations were also shaped by the expansionist ambitions of Sweden and Novgorod, as well as both of the churches, all of whom sought to direct the migration to strategically important locations and assert control over the settler communities.[49] The different place names are one indication of old local memories that relates places with the origin of local population.

Thus, the archaeological finds from the different local burial grounds indicate the hybridization and heterogeneous cultural and religious conceptions in the coastal areas of the Bothnian Gulf.[50] There was a significant difference in which market harbour the Karelian and Russian traders sold their commodities, like linen and hemp, and bought furs. The

[45] E.g. Heikkilä 2009, 42–43; Luukko 1954, 293–296.
[46] Vilkuna 1975, 364.
[47] Kallio-Seppä 2011; Wallerström 1995 I; Ylimaunu *et al*. 2014.
[48] Vahtola 1998.
[49] Vahtola 1980, 287–288, 412; Wallerström 1995 I: 55, 67, 146, 167–172.
[50] Ylimaunu *et al*. 2014; c.f. Mrozowski *et al*. 2009; Naum 2010, 2012.

markets in Tornio were the main transaction place where the eastern merchants travelled in the mid-sixteenth century. The amount of Karelian traders who paid the market place tax was in Tornio two or even three times greater than in the other market harbours.[51] Hence, there seems to have been different attitudes towards Karelians merchants among the population of different locations in the Ostrobothnian coastal areas in the sixteenth century. It has been suggested that the population in Tornio took the Karelian merchants into their protection because Karelians had been harassed by the population of Ostrobothnia.[52] However, it is understandable the people in Ostrobothnia had more hostility feelings and experiences towards Karelians because they suffered the most of the aggressions of the late-fifteenth and entire-sixteenth century wars between Sweden and Moscow.[53] It seems that the locals had different kind of experiences, memories and encounters with the Swedish, Finnish, German and Karelian peoples;[54] the eastern part of Fennoscandia was a hybrid space, a true borderlands area.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the boundaries between sacred and profane space were not clear in the medieval north. For example, the marketplace in Hietaniemi beside Tornio River had religious meanings, since the site was used also as a local graveyard from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries.[55] This phenomenon also has been observed in medieval Central Europe, where burial grounds have been found without any church buildings. The diversity of burial grounds was most likely an indication of strong and persistent traditions of different families.[56] Thus, the markets at Hietaniemi indicate that the religious and commercial functions and meanings are contemporaneous at some early marketplaces. Indeed, Hietaniemi also indicates that the boundaries between secular and sacred were not stable and boundaries between them did not necessarily exist. Thus, some Central European archaeological evidence indicate this, because household wastes and other traces of everyday life have been found from the early and middle medieval period graveyards.[57] The Catholic Church was the main organised power in the north during the medieval period. The place names related to the Eastern Orthodox sacred buildings in the north may indicate that the Catholic Church took slowly over the Eastern

[51] Hedman 1969, 158–160; Lundholm 1991a, 274, 297–298.
[52] Hedman 1969, 158–160.
[53] Lundholm 1991a, 298; 1991b, 334–338; Vahtola 2004.
[54] C.f. Naum 2010; 2012; Van Dommelen 2005.
[55] Wallerström 1995 I, 127; 1995 II, 180.
[56] Zadora-Rio 2003.
[57] Zadora-Rio 2003.

Christian space as had occurred with the pre-Christian sites; only the memory of these as place names was preserved among the local population. After the Reformation the Swedish Crown used the churches in the remote marketplaces of Lapland to establish its power over the areas.

The markets at the northern river estuaries lost their importance during the seventeenth century when the several towns were established. Similar processes happened at Hietaniemi and according to Wallerström the marketplace lost its significance when Tornio town was founded in the early seventeenth century.[58] Hietaniemi lost its commercial meanings, however it did not lose its religious significance, because a church was built on the site. The loss of the marketplace in Hietaniemi and building of the church by the Swedish Crown can be seen as two related phenomena. First, the Crown took over the site and its meanings. Second, the religious meanings did not disappear from the site; they remained in material memory.

Conclusion

We have highlighted some religious and economic relationships of the marketplaces and churches in northern and southern Finland during the medieval and early modern period. We argue that the fairs and religion have had a stronger inter-relationship than scholars have previously suggested. Indeed, in the north the Hietaniemi site yielded archaeological evidence that links the pre-Christian burials and marketplace and in the south on Kyrksundet the sacred place from the Viking Age was followed by a Christian chapel. This chapel parish has kept the old pagan place name of the sacrificial site and is still called Hitis. The Catholic Church took over these sites and turned them into its own Christian ideology, however local memory kept alive these old traditions.

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[58] Wallerström 1995 II, 179–180.

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Captions

Fig. 6-1. The map of eastern part of Fennoscandia and the places mentioned in a paper. Drawn: Timo Ylimaunu.

Fig. 6-2. The late medieval stone church of Kemi. Picture: Titta Kallio-Seppä.

Fig. 6-3. Saint Anna in the medieval church of Kemi. Picture: Timo Ylimaunu.

Fig. 6-4. The market place of Snappertuna in a map from 1682. The St Bartholomew's chapel of Snappertuna was near the market place but is not drawn down on the map. Source: The National Archives of Finland.

Fig. 6-5. The market place of Kemi was located in a Haminasaari Island in Kemi River in a beginning of the nineteenth century. The church of Kemi is nearby on middle and top of the map. Source: Castrén 1954 [1802].